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/375 cont./
opposite each other." On his first journey he was accompanied by the botanist Spegazzini (a):163, who became acquainted with only part of a region and who saw Indian dwellings "hemispherical in form" /translated from Italian/. His other companion, Lovisato (b):133, also speaks only of a single form of hut in which "the branches of trees are set into the ground and bent over to form a dome with other branches intertwined..." /translated from Italian/. Thus, we see that even in the reports of these three men who traveled in this region simultaneously there are obvious contradictions.

conical construction a result of the iron ax introduced there. The tools of their ancestors required great effort to fell trees as thick as an arm and to cut the heavy posts required for the framework of this more stable hut. When the last Yamana, to whom the iron ax quickly became indispensable, were restricted to the middle and eastern regions, the dome-shaped hut mĕrana completely disappeared, so to speak, and only the cone-shaped hut, gūlĕkĕr, remained as a dwelling.

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If we glance at the two neighboring tribes, we find that only the dome-shaped hut appears in the region of the Halakwulup /Alacaluf/ where the weather and the landscape are the same as in the rainy western Yamana zone, whereas in the southern part of Isla Grande the Selk'nam, the neighbors of the eastern Yamana, build only the cone-shaped hut (17).

17. I have discussed the plausibility of a modification of the hut form under the influence of the European iron ax among the northern Selk'nam (Vol. I, 198).

a. The Cone-Shaped Hut

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In earlier, as well as in more recent times, the individual family built a looser or more stable construction, depending on whether

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[177] any people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/413 cont./

hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 21). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by streching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 86; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ăpun, mĭnuš, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/415 cont./

the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scarred sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

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90. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is automatically and unintentionally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

/416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a larger cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, awaiix, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less resemble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

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D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

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178 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth mentioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

[135]

501 /440 cont./

and the great efficiency of the bark boat, but have described the details only very superficially. Cooper: 197 simply listed the bibliography of the best descriptions.

[171] We should like to mention briefly that this bark canoe, ánan (or, more completely, ajyúsu ánan), is actually very similar in its design and principal parts to the one that the neighboring Halakwulup make (Fig. 25).

a. The Bark Pieces

396 The vessel characteristic of the Yamana since ancient times is a canoe made out of three large pieces of bark. This is the one we shall describe in what follows. Most of our natives have in most recent times turned to the canoe made out of a single trunk and to the flat boat, but this happened only since Europeans [177] brought them the iron ax.

The entire region is more or less densely supplied with Ant-
396 arctic beeches, but straight, thick trunks that furnish a smooth,
313 even sheet of bark of sufficient length are found only singly and usually deep in the interior of an island. To discover these is probably the only reason a man is obliged to venture deep into the forest. Usually two or three men join together in the search, if for no other reason than because it is difficult for a single man to loosen the thick bark, ajyúsu, from the trunk and because no one goes alone for great distances in the woods (123). This traveling

123. As Hyades (q):350 says: "the chief concern of the Fuegians is to select the best bark; it is often necessary for them to take a long journey to find it" /translated from French/. Despard (b):679 adds: "a man, having associated three others, proceeds into the forest for four or five miles" /cited in English/.

hither and yon is frequently laborious and requires great effort. They almost always decide on Nothofagus betuloides, sér-ci, which

/463 cont./

411 and, without thinking about it, that they were generally absent in the west (163). This could certainly not be justified, for the

> 163. For example, Dabbene (b):185 maintains, without justification, "The bow and arrows were used solely by the Yahgan who inhabit the coasts of Beagle Channel, and it appears that they were never the preferred weapons" /translated from Spanish/.

adjoining southern Halakwulup always had bows and arrows. Without offering definite proof, therefore, no one can maintain that the western Yamana between the central Yamana and the Halakwulup did not know about these weapons. In former times a foreign fleet almost never visited the homeland of the western Yamana. It is true, however, that the people of the east carried these weapons more often than the rest of their countrymen, who usually bartered for them with the Selk'nam who were their only neighbors. Bows and arrows were also more suitable than other /464/ implements for hunting the guanaco which lives only in the eastern Beagle Channel and throughout Navarino Island.
[178] Finally, it can be proved that since the discovery of the Yamana the use of the bow and arrow constantly decreased, until finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, not a single remaining specimen was to be found in their possession (164).

> 164. Lothrop (b):155 also acknowledges this to be the actual fact of the matter.

a. The Bow

411 From the start, to prevent justifiable surprise, we should
• 171 like to emphasize that all three Fuegian tribes make their bow and arrow in exactly the same way. There are alight differences only in minor details. These weapons are the most important and almost the only ones of the Selk'nam, which is why we have given a thorough description of them elsewhere (Vol. I, 230).

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Buen Suceso, and on December 29th the captain sent a boat to shore there. The lieutenant was "received by several inhabitants" when he disembarked among them. George Forster (a):II, 390, adds: "Our men stayed with them only two or three minutes, embarked again, and hurried back on board" (Vol. I, 36). Now it is hardly to be assumed that in this short space of time the sailors were presented with two bows by the native Haus or Selk'nam. It seems much more plausible that at least the bow stave in the private collection of Forster was taken by the latter himself from a Yamana on Isla Waterman, for he refers to this weapon in particular in his report. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the other objects in Göttingen that Cook brought back from his second expedition are characteristic specimens from the cultural heritage of the southernmost Fuegians. I refer to three bone spearheads, small necklaces of mussel shells, and a sling whose center section was made from a scrap of leather from the otter. The Selk'nam, as is well known, use only guanaco leather for their sling (Vol. I, 243).

specimens are 149 centimeters and 152 centimeters long. Lothrop (b):156 publishes a photograph (unfortunately too indistinct) of two bows which are also old and are in the Peabody Museum of Salem, "one the gift of Captain B. Morrell, Jr., who obtained it in 1825, the other collected by Lieutenant Wilkes, probably at Orange harbor or Wollaston island" /cited in English/. The straight-line distance between the two ends is three feet, nine and one-half inches in the case of one, and four feet, one inch in the case of the other.

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The details we have mentioned are characteristic of the bow stave of the Yamana as well as of the Selk'nam. The latter, in addition, shows a distinct fluting which, for handwork, is notably regular. It is lacking in the two old pieces in the Peabody Museum, as Lothrop (b):156 emphatically points out, nor do we

/465 cont./

411 find it on the specimens in the Göttingen Museum. This point
171 may seem trivial, but actually the early Yamana were not as exact in making a bow stave as the Selk'nam. That is why they never applied the fine decorated edge upon which the Selk'nam laid great stress (Vol. I, 233). It has been proved that the inhabitants of Isla Grande gave many a bow to their neighboring canoeists. However, since the old bow staves described here lack the even and delicately ribbed surface, they are almost certainly recognizable as a genuine product of the Yamana. The latter have actually altered nothing in the form and shape of their bow staves for the past three centuries (167).

167. Hyades (q):361 confirms "that the bow and arrow of the present does not seem to have varied from that of the first European travelers in Fuegia" /translated from French/. In his works (h):31 and (q):Plate XXXI, he illustrates a bow that Bougainville picked up in Puerto Gallant on the Strait of Magellan in January, 1768. There is no question that this specimen comes from the Halakwulup. Since, as Hyades maintains, it "does not differ in any respect from the present bow" /translated from French/ of the Yamana, his words substantiate what I said in the beginning about the widespread uniformity of the bows of all Fuegian tribes.

411 For the bowstring, the people in the region of the Selk'nam
283 and Haus without exception use the thick tendon cords from the legs of guanacos. The eastern Yamana do likewise; the other groups choose for this also thick bundles of tendons of the
[177] pinniped; the westernmost Yamana, probably in imitation of the Halakwulup, even use the hide of the sea lion in a strip three millimeters wide (168). On the two bows which James Cook

168. Hyades (q):298 inaccurately says that "the string is a sealskin thong or a cord of a whale sinew" /translated from French/; the tendon fibers of large seals are used much more often.

283 /466/ brought back the bowstrings are now missing. Of the two
411 in the Peabody Museum Lothrop (b):156 says that their "bowstrings are of guanaco-sinew" /cited in English/ (169). The latter,

> 169. In a few older reports they are erroneously said to be "gut."

known as sáli, are attached exactly as they are on the bow of the Selk'nam, namely, at one end by means of a running knot and at the other by being wound around it several times (see Fig. 31 in Vol. I, 231). A strip of leather as a bowstring is obviously much less elastic.

β. The Arrow

411 The navigators of earlier times repeatedly saw the arrow in the hands of these Fuegians, but instead of describing it in detail, most of them were content to mention it briefly. Weddell noted few details. The arrow of the Yamana also resembles that
•[171] of the Selk'nam in every respect; the latter is in general somewhat longer. Lothrop (b):155 calls it "short, clumsy, and untapered -- very crude indeed compared with Ona workmanship" /cited in English/. As far as I know, there is not an arrow preserved anywhere from olden times, and the available descriptions from the last decades are more or less inadequate. For whatever I have been able to discover about this at one time significant weapon, I am indebted chiefly to old Whaits, who, as a young man, made a few samples of them. Personally I did not succeed in seeing an arrow made by the hand of a Yamana.

Here, too, as on Isla Grande, they choose the small stems
[824] of Berberis ilicifolia, sometimes even the branches of Maytenus
411 magellanica for the arrow shaft. Hence it is also called ʔiyaku ʔ,
322 a name for the latter tree. The stick, still green, is given its final shape by constant scraping with a sharp-edged mussel shell. The middle third bulges slightly in contrast to the two ends. The high polish and final smoothing of the surface of the shaft is obtained by a gentle rubbing with pumice. Before that the man repeatedly straightens it by holding it between his teeth and

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

411 177 Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam; it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without significance.

γ. The Quiver

28/ 411 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions, and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 [171] This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/477 cont./

411 Our Yamana use spears as ligher thrusting weapons. We can distinguish between a spear used for birds and one for fish. The shaft of the former is likewise a pole that is uniformly cut and prepared, but this is usually a young trunk of Maytenus magellanica or of Nothofagus or Drimys winteri, from which the bark has been peeled off. It is usually not more than three meters long. The thick end is cut off straight across. Here the notch is cut from one side without letting it come through to the other side. About a quarter of the diameter remains, and this serves to support the bone point which is inserted here with the back against the remaining portion of the wood. The lower part of the point has several short upright teeth. A narrow strap is tightly wound around it in the spaces between the teeth. The same shaft with the partial notch just described is also used for the šušuwaja, securely and firmly held in it.

411 /478/ The serrated points made of bone or wood are characteristic for these spears. For the bone teeth, whale ribs are used ex-
321 clusively. They are first treated with coarse sandstone, then with quartz splinters or mussel shells, and finally burnished with pumice. The two edges end in a point at the top, the back is rounded off (183),

183. It cannot be definitely determined whether the Yamana made a bone point with both edges serrated. However, BD:64 mentions: "'auaia,' the single or double notched spear head used for seals, porpoises" /cited in English/. Among the Halakwulup I found the double-rowed, serrated spearhead of wood, as well as of bone, and sometimes even the two together.

[171]

and on the opposite side the natives laboriously cut or saw out one little tooth after another with sharp mussel shells or quartz splinters. These small teeth are narrow and more or less irregular; they are close together and point obliquely downward. The little piece at the lower end is irregularly serrated and tapers; it is set into the notch and lashed.

411 This spear with the bone point is used for hunting birds. It is
223 most often hurled against penguins which have tough flesh into which a wooden point would not penetrate deeply enough.

/479 cont./
411 mentioned that the shafts of harpoons and spears are sometimes rubbed with imi. The purpose of this is to beautify them; moreover, experience has proved that they are then easier to grasp and hold with the fist.

6. Dagger and Lance

It is easy to understand that the reports from earlier times are not as accurate and comprehensive in many details as we would wish. Many observers have not discussed the difference between dagger and arrow and have identified one with the other, probably because of the great similarity between their points. /480/ Those seafarers were completely unfamiliar with the things that the shell mounds have brought to light in modern times. All the more should attention be given to the reference offered only by Weddell (a):110 in December, 1823, that the arrow should be distinguished from the dagger. After describing the arrow as "having a triangular pointed stone forced in at the front," he added: these natives "also had another weapon, namely, a similarly formed stone is fitted into the top of a handle nine inches long and probably serves as a dagger."

As a matter of fact, the Yamana use this short thrusting weapon, which can properly be designated as a dagger (Fig. 38) (187). It

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187 Among the Halakwulup I often came across this weapon. From them came the four beautiful daggers with glass points which the Natural History Museum in Vienna acquired through Hagenbeck toward the end of the 1880's.

consists of a shaft as thick as one's thumb, about 30 centimeters [824] long, for which the tough wood of Berberis ilicifolia is preferred. A stone point is forced into the completely open, narrow notch on the thicker end of the shaft. The point is secured by means of several lashings /Fig. 38 appears here/ of a small strap or thick sinew. The stone point, always referred to as yékus, has a triangular

/482 cont./

411 missionaries and travelers of the last few decades still found this weapon (190). I saw the natives playing with it a great deal and

190. The following have furnished good descriptions: Bove (b):156, Cojazzi:109, Colini:161, Dabbene (b):185, Hyades (h):29 and (q):301, 357, Lothrop (b):156, Martial: 191, Spegazzini (a):162, Spencer:131, Wieghardt: 25, and others.

hunting smaller animals.

• 171 411 If one compares the sling of our natives (Fig. 40) with that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 243), he will scarcely find any marked difference; actually, the construction of both is, so to speak, completely identical. For the center section the Yamana choose a scrap of leather from the otter or the seal. Whereas the Selk'nam scrape off the fur, our Indians always leave it on, often using it on the inside, less frequently on the outside (191).

191. This is shown in the drawing found in Hyades (h):30 and (q):Plate XXX, 14. Figure 40 inserted here shows the less common usage, namely, the fur-side of the center piece turned outward.

In this respect the two specimens are different. This may seem like a minor detail, but it has real significance, which old Alfredo pointed out to me. The Yamana prefer a small piece of leather that is thickly furred, since all the stones that they pick up to throw have a smooth surface, /483/ either because they are actual shingle or because they are wet with sea water. They lie considerably more securely in a furred center section than in one from which the hair has been removed. The latter can be used successfully by the Selk'nam, for they use slingstones that have a rough surface and are at least covered with a fine layer of dust. Nevertheless, some men reverse their leather lappet to put the fur on the outside.

411 The center section is a longish oval in shape, about 22 centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. It becomes extraordinarily soft from frequent use. On the pointed ends the strings are

/487 cont./

223 long, slender shaft furnished with a running loop of whalebone" 284 /translated from French/. The end piece is attached to the tip of the shaft by a knot in the lashing of sinew. It is surprising that this whalebone noose, kɛ́ʃ ɛ́f, is put together with two pieces, a long one and a short one. The two run side by side for a few centimeters and are lashed with sinews; the short one ends in a small loop-knot. We also find this same overlapping • [171] in every one of the whalebone loops on the long snare-line of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 283), whereas on that of our Yamana each whalebone loop is one strip only (Fig. 59). A kɛ́ʃ ɛ́f consisting of two parts is more effective and more durable; our Yamana are convinced of that. But why they do not use these two-part loops on the long snare-line no one could tell me. Probably the people avoid the greater effort, since the work of making a snare-line is laborious enough.

223 We need not explain specifically how this snare-rod is used. It is, of course, put forward unnoticed by a man hidden in a suitable spot, drawn over the head of a bird, and immediately pulled in with a sharp jerk. The principle of the noose is exactly the same as in the case of the long snare-line. The natives even use a single whalebone noose without any kind of shaft to catch birds. Herewith we have adequately described and characterized the threefold way in which the whalebone snare is used by the Yamana.

Y. Mussel Fork, Mussel Breaker, Crab Fork

226 [562] The shellfish of the sea have the same importance for the diet of our Fuegian as bread, for instance, has for the European. Many of them he can gather on the beach, others he must take out of the water. The two types of mussels which are found there, namely ɛ́ʃ uf (Mytilus chilensis) and kɛ́ʃ ʃin (Mytilus edulis), occur in vast quantities. They are larger and tastier the more abundantly they are covered with water even at lowest ebb tide and the stronger the current is that swirls around them back and forth. It would be impossible to pry these animals loose with one's hand, as one can, for instance, the smaller and less tasty ones that every ebb tide uncovers.

/492 cont./

492 mussels thrive at particularly suitable places where small, restless eddies of water supply them with abundant nourishment. The shell selected is at least ten centimeters long. They carefully break off the convex side edges to retain the almost flat center section, and they finally taper the end where the hinge is. This produces a wedge-shaped basic form, albeit with curved edges, and the pointed end is placed on the handle.

The handle is a stone about 12 centimeters long, either rounded or with edges, found on the beach. It would not occur to anyone to shape it a bit or to smooth it. The firm hand of the Fuegian knows how to grasp it securely in one way or another. The only thing to which they pay attention is to fit the shell exactly against the flat part of the stone handle. If there were any hollow space, it would inevitably break with the slightest pressure. In order to avoid this and also to make possible a slight springiness, the Indian shoves a thin, intervening layer of chips, whittled shavings of barberry, or of moss, under the upper part of the shaft which rests on the shell. This forms a springy bed, as it were, on which the shaft rests. A narrow leather strip or a braided cord of sinew wound around both pieces several times holds them together adequately (Fig. 44) (201).

201. Good descriptions are given by Colini: 161, Hyades (q):299, Lovisato (a):196 and (b):136, Lothrop (b):139, and Spegazzini (a): 163. Certain similarities with the scraper of the Selk'nam are immediately apparent (Vol. I, 248).

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Everyone grasps the scraper in such a way that the handle fills the entire right /493/ hand while the mussel shell, with its concave surface turned toward the body, is visible above the little finger. The Yamana moves it toward himself in a stroking motion. The scraper has many uses. It is employed above all in removing and cleaning skins, in cutting up animals and cutting the meat into pieces, in fashioning shafts and rods for lances, harpoons, spears, and trapping and fishing implements, in removing bark, and in the preparation of individual timbers required for the canoe, /Figs. 43 and 44 appear here/ for scoring branches

/496 cont./

412 321 The wedge we have just described is carved out of the strong tissue of the large bones of the whale. The process is one of rubbing back and forth with pressure on a flat stone. As soon as the desired form roughly appears, the blade is carefully sharpened. The last thing is to grind and smooth the surface. For this a /497/ pumice stone the size of one's fist is suitable. The sea tosses these up in many places along the shore. We have repeatedly emphasized that our Indians must often resort to pumice, hival, for this very useful material is the only thing they employ to polish their bone points for harpoons and spears and their many wooden shafts. Lothrop (b):143 mentions: "For polishing, in place of our sandpaper or the Ona fox-skin and grit, the Yahgan use pomice hi5l" /cited in English/. SD:262 spells it hiual. The pumice, of course, soon wears down on the hard bone tissue, but it can be picked up anywhere on the shores (210). The Selk'nam

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210. Lothrop (b):143 confirms: "It frequently floats down Beagle channel and may be picked up on the beach" /cited in English/. Lovisato (a):197 is wrong in saying that pumice is found only on Nueva Island and Lennox Island.

(Vol. I, 235), as we know, not infrequently use the same pumice.

E. Use of Iron

412 177 The Yamana of the first and oldest period were completely unfamiliar with the utilization of iron in any form. It is not found in their country nor could they obtain it through barter. As soon as they saw it on European ships and realized its usefulness, however, they learned how to obtain this raw material, as well as small plates of steel and copper, either legitimately or by stealing. Their impetuous desire for it sometimes led to dire consequences for themselves.

It is surprising how quickly they made iron serve them, taking it over in the form of nails, small plates for sheathing, and

/304 cont./

215 lengths. Before one roll is covered with knotting, she pushes in a new one. In this way she avoids having the entire roll /305/ start at a single point. The loops which are now made over this roll with a running stalk, frequently renewed, are more or less perpendicular to the roll. The simple half-hitch weave continues in spiral progression and, of course, runs clockwise. The last section of the free end of the running stalk is bent back several times and shoved under a knot which is pulled tight. At first the woman increases the number of loops on each woven ring and thus the weaving expands from below upward; more than halfway

Fig. 80. The Tight Basket Weave. Natural size.

up a slight narrowing sets in once more (219).

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219. The basket made according to this weaving technique is the only form which the Selk'nam also knew how to make (Vol. I, 256).

Soon after the /Fig. 80 appears here/ first coils are finished, the woman wears both her hands free for the work. With a sinew, a small leather strap, or a rush stalk, she hangs her basketwork up somewhere, either on a post of the hut frame or on a short stick which she pounds into the ground. She hangs it in such a way that the opening of the basket is turned toward the ground. She draws the cord by which it hangs through the small hole that she left at the

25 /305 cont./ beginning as the lowest point of the basket. Thus hung up, the basketwork is extraordinarily mobile and can be taken up at any point at which she wishes to continue the tedious work.

When the Indian woman feels that it is large enough, she thickens the regular roll of rush stalks somewhat for the edge and draws over it a somewhat wider rush as a running thread. On this she afterwards puts two low ears opposite each other which are also bound spirally with a wide rush stalk. The two ears are joined by a cord braided out of a few stalks, sometimes also by a small narrow strap, for a handle (310). One finds this basket in all sizes

310. To his description of this weaving technique, Lothrop (b):136 adds a few comparative comments and mentions: "The hitch-coil is typical in South America only of the Yahgan, Ona, and Alacaluf, but it turns up sometimes in the Amazon valley and to the northwest" /cited in English/.

and corresponding widths, with a height of eight to 30 centimeters.

/306/ 2. Cothéyes: The basket with the loose weave, as I should like to designate this particular type, is by far made less often than tagwéin (311). The reason for this, I was told, is that

311. Lothrop (b):136 confirms this from his own experience: "This weave is very rarely employed among the Yahgan, and a single specimen was secured only with difficulty" /cited in English/.

it is less durable than the other, but that it nevertheless requires almost the same amount of work to make and cannot be used for many requirements. The distinguishing characteristic of the basketry technique shown in tagwéin also predominates in Cothéyes, which Lothrop(b):136 calls wickerwork. Both are exactly the same at the very beginning. The only difference between them is that in this case the running rush stalk which makes the knotting

1: Gramde--240 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5096 Yahgan 5096

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/530 cont./

(p)-53 maintains: "Inside they put a bit of fish, mollusks, or meat in order to attract the birds" /translated from Spanish/.

feeding in the grass, gum caught in it and pulls it together more and more the harder it tugs at it. The hunter watches his trap from a distance and counts the birds that already belong to him. He does not come out of hiding until the wild geese that are still walking around freely are frightened away by the anxious unrest of the snared animals. He beats them to death with a cudgel or twists their necks off.

The Yamana has far less opportunity to lay this long snare-line (ihe, successfully than does the neighboring Selk'nam; local conditions are markedly different in each case. Moreover, if we consider that this article requires considerable trouble to make and is awkward to store, we can understand that a Yamana only rarely owns one. Hyades (h):22 confirms this, saying "that during our year's stay at Orange Bay we saw only five or six specimens" /translated from French/. Other travelers do not even mention it. Hyades (g):289 is correct in his judgment: "The scarcity of these snares leads one to believe that they are no longer very much used for the hunt" /translated from French/. It can be seen at a glance that the snare-lines of the Yamana and Selk'nam are very much alike.

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Aside from this, almost every man owns a simple but useful article for catching wild geese and other fowl, such as ducks, cormorants, and penguins. This akáuna I should like to call "noose-rod" (Fig. 60). At the top of a thin, strong rod at least two and a half meters long, there is fastened a single running loop, kē'ōt, made out of a long, narrow strip of whalebone about 60 centimeters in length. In the dusk of evening or on a bright night a man cautiously creeps up to a bird asleep standing upright and places the open noose over its head. He quickly pulls the noose shut and drags the bird toward him, breaking its neck instantly. The more silent he is, the less the animals standing around will be disturbed and the more plentiful will be the nocturnal hunter's booty. The Yamana like to try their luck with

[Text continues on page 242.--Analyst]

/625 cont./

177 181 from his stay among the missionaries, "he returns with delight to his canoe, to his independent wandering life, without preoccupation and without cares" /translated from French/, as Hyades (j):166 reports. Every outside observer can be adequately convinced that there is no other possible way of life for the Yamana; they are used to it from their earliest childhood; they are forced into it by their given environment, into which they have been inescapably placed. Care for their daily subsistence and the necessary raw materials for their implements drive them restlessly from place to place. This powerful motivation drives 181 our Yamana with equal force and toward the same goal as it does 171 the neighboring Selk'nam; hence the many basic similarities in the characteristics of their economies between the two tribes, with whom the Halakwulup are to be compared in this respect. All careful observers agree that "like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance" /cited in English/, as Lothrop (b):116 tersely expresses himself. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes both of them restless wanderers, that always and unmercifully puts them back on their feet again after they have given themselves a brief respite of only a few days. Despite this great dependence on external nature, our Fuegians have by no means become its slave, and their struggle for existence is not at all the degrading strife in which, for example, vast strata of so-called civilized Europe are at present engaged.

182 A glance at how the Yamana manage their affairs also shows that man with his superior mental equipment and his physical powers energetically comes to grips with nature on every spot of the earth that is entrusted to him. There he creates for himself a definite form of economy which will sooner or later strike every careful observer as harmonious co-operation between man and nature. Actually, the economic form of every long-domiciled primitive people possesses its inherent individuality conditioned by its environment and marked by its own structure. Thus, it is unique, and, despite external similarities with an economic form developed under other conditions, it differs from the latter /626/ more or less according to its inner structure, or at least according to its manifold purpose. This is not by any

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"Marriage was recognized just as much as all other degrees of relationship, for all of which they [the Yamana] have their specific terms."

about by the dominance of European civilization has strangled this judicious tribal custom, along with much that was original. The Indians of today regret that some of their countrymen enter a marriage without the ceremony of former times. Mary, who was indignant over the widespread lack of form, very much lamented these conditions: "A woman, after all, is not an object, not a piece of wood or something, that one takes without ceremony. A girl who gives herself to a man without the formalities customary among us is not a real woman. It was so nice in former times when the painted bride was given to the bridegroom, who was also painted. Everybody was very happy on those occasions!" Again it is European influence that has killed the feeling for their native tribal customs among the younger generation. I learned the bulk of what is contained in the preceding pages from reliable old Alfredo on my second journey.

/658/ 9. Parents-In-Law and Children-In-Law

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In the days before and after the wedding, the bridegroom is very obliging and anxious to serve his parents-in-law. There is no legal obligation for service in the form of work or for gifts, but it is a matter of concern to him to obtain the favor of the girl's parents in order that they will surely and without reservation give their consent to the planned marriage. It is well known that a certain shyness prevents the lovers from revealing their turbulent desires. One day shortly before the wedding, when the love of the two young people has already become known, the bridegroom, in order to gain admittance into the hut of the girl's parents, places a rather large bundle of wood in front of the hut and waits until he is called in (40). If this happens, he interprets it as the surest

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40. It is well known that among the Selk'nam, also, the young chap who is anxious to marry resorts to silent, patient waiting in front of the

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hut of his beloved, until her father admits him and thereby announces his approval of the marriage (Vol. I, 327).

guarantee of the old people's approval of his marriage plan. He conceals his innermost joy and henceforth conducts himself as ancient tribal custom demands of a son-in-law. Free, open intercourse is not permitted him nor the daughter-in-law with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, they are obliged to render service to the latter. What the son-in-law does for them immediately before and after the wedding should probably more accurately be called appreciation and a show of gratitude for the willingness of these parents to hand over their daughter to him. In order to demonstrate clearly his readiness to please his father-in-law, the lover finds out what he lacks or expects or particularly desires, and that is what he procures, whether it be a canoe, a harpoon, or a beautiful fur cloak. Beyond that, he brings many other trifles to his father-in-law's hut until the marriage celebration begins. At the same time the bride, if possible, renders small services to her future mother-in-law, but these are not expected or taken for granted as in the case of the bridegroom. That she, too, favors her parents-in-law with gifts clearly indicates, however, that the presents delivered by the bridegroom cannot be regarded as bride purchase (p. 404).

606 The limitations on intercourse between children-in-law and their parents-in-law constitute a definite custom of avoidance. It is regarded as inadmissible and improper to address the parents-in-law or to interrupt their conversation with incidental remarks. When one meets them or enters their hut, one may not greet them; if one happens to run into them, one should, with downcast eyes, give them a wide berth. It is the general custom that one does not sit down opposite them, never looks them in the eye, and never sits next to them. If it happens that a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is in the same hut with the parents-in-law, the former must move far away and /659/ turn from them, that is to say, turn to one side or turn their backs. If several men gather together, the son-in-law chooses his place in this circle so that it is farthest removed from his father-in-law. He remains silent

/722 cont./

846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tĕčikášina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wíša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

/734 cont./

145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

856 The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they
●171 resort to a magical custom known as múasa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/735 cont./

856 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This move-
171 ment is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the
[825] larva, uskájamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same
[825] time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice:

sayyánux,	tun	hája	tágu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pěr (Patella) and yekěr (Chiton, snail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./
856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives
856 and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

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177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/806 cont./

Y 881 and as though it were obliged to add to them, an institution has been created which obviously proves to be a prolongation of parental efforts and which continues, without a break, the training within the narrower family circle. It is of decisive significance in this connection that the child, at puberty, is taken from the care of its parents and subjected to a leadership created accidently, so to speak, from the assemblage of many families.

All children without exception are required to take part in this so-called youth initiation and no parents have the right to remove their children for any reason whatever. A superior power asserts itself in this universal obligation, and this is none other than the invisible power of the state. Specific positions of authority are lacking in this Indian society (p. 634), but these people, too, are guided by definite, all-embracing laws, and everyone willingly yields to them. One of their laws, which is regarded with great seriousness and which the public guards with scrupulous care, is the periodic repetition of the youth initiation, in which is expressed the actually existing power of the state, the incomplete development of which was described in the preceding section (p. 635).

Precisely because the initiation of youth is arranged by one or another part of the tribal society and because it represents an undertaking of legal standing independent of the individual family and outside of it, the following detailed description of it is added to the description of the social structure of the Yamana tribe.

X 881 171 It is known that the neighboring Selk'nam also have a secret ceremony, called klóketen (Vol. I, 808). Only boys are admitted to it, which shows that it is very different from the čiéxaus. Aside from that, outstanding characteristics and a unidirectional aim show that it, too, is an actual youth initiation. As such, the klóketen strives for the same principal goal, namely, adequate instruction and forceful teaching, as well as repeated practice to achieve manual dexterity and skill in the daily tasks of adults. The chief purpose, therefore, is to train and instruct the young person in his tasks as a self-sufficient independent human being. With no obvious foreign element from matriarchal cultural conditions, as can be shown in the great ceremony of the klóketen (Vol. I, 1077), /807/ the čiéxaus pursues a very definite educational task aimed at physical fitness for the required skills and

/807 cont./

Y881 171

moral-spiritual training in such measure that the one does not seem to be favored above the other.

In the course of the discussion, this important basic direction will be clearly brought out. It is referred to here in order to intercept from the start an unjustifiable assumption. The elaborate accompaniment to the initiation serves neither exclusively nor primarily to train those young people so that they later will be proficient in obtaining food. Much attention is certainly paid to this need, but it is neither the only nor the most important goal (238).

> 238. Most recently Felix Speiser:254 laid sole stress on this supplementary goal. On the subject of initiations in Australia and New Guinea he concludes: "All kinds of motives have hitherto been given as reasons for the initiations...All these motives are present in the initiations, but do not form their central feature which, as we have tried to prove, is to guarantee the food supply. If this realization is at first somewhat surprising, it becomes comprehensible if we clearly understand how very important the assurance of obtaining food is for man in general...In ethnology, amid the many, often interesting aspects in the life of primitive people, we often forget how great must be the concern for their daily food." Speiser's reference to the oppressive worry for daily subsistence which torments primitive man deserves acknowledgment. In Tierra del Fuego, too, young people are trained to meet it effectively, but it is not the most important task of the initiation to which every young person is pledged before his marriage.

A much loftier and more universal goal can be seen in certain secondary aspects that surround this ceremony.

Y881

The Kiexaus ceremony is made up of a great many individual parts; a rich store of ideas from the spiritual treasure of the Yamana

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make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulastékuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

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252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

/837 cont./

X881 346 point on the outside in order to keep a lookout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

β. Construction of the Cookhut

X881 264 In their everyday life the Yamana have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

X881 343 For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of čiẽxaus participants, the Yamana choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above [354] or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hot ashes serve to bake the fish and steam the mussels. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (261).

●[171] 261. In the same way the Halakwulup also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gusinde (o):541.

/851 cont./

X881 utter exhaustion, the boy is unable to offer the slightest resistance. Powerlessly he lets himself be thrown down, lifted up, shoved, and dragged about.

Suddenly the dreadful yelling ceases. At the same moment one man, usually the leader, leans forward, puts his mouth against his cupped hand which rests upright on the ground, and bellows out a hollow-sounding, deep, long drawn-out hū against the ground. This means: "Yetáita is now dead!" At the same time the "evil spirit" ceases his wild commotion and crouches motionless in front of the candidate whom he has so mercilessly tormented. The latter gets up on his knees at the direction of another man who squats beside him. The boy must now look his tormentor full in the face, and then he recognizes him! The man beside him says to the boy: "Look closely, that is your kinsman (270), not Yetáita! The true Yetáita looks like your kinsman

270. He says specifically: "That is your uncle, that is your father..." Following the general custom of the Yamana, he does not mention his given name.

here, who is painted like Yetáita. Watch out for Yetáita! Pay careful attention to what will be demanded of you here in the čiéxaus. Do not leave this Great Hut on your own. Never look over at the camp and never let the children over there see you. Keep strict silence among other people about what you will experience here. Now you know that Yetáita is much rougher than your kinsman. This man is not Yetáita himself, but you should know now to watch out for him!"

While these words are being spoken, the agitation of the uswáala subsides somewhat as more and more clearly he recognizes the man as his kinsman. The latter immediately sits down beside him, for in this celebration he will be his sponsor. The sole purpose of this so-called apparition is to frighten the young chap thoroughly and to compel him to give scrupulous attention to the precepts that are emphasized here (271).

X881 171

271. In comparison we refer to the struggle which the candidates in the secret hut of the

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X881 171

Selk'nam men's ceremony must undergo with a so-called spirit. The latter conducts himself much more wildly, and the men shout to the candidate that he should defend himself with all his might against this spirit. There, too, the masked man, after struggling with the candidate, discloses himself as his kinsman. The whole performance is likewise supposed to put awesome fear into the chap who enters this sacred place for the first time (Vol. I, 851).

X881 /852/ In former times each candidate separately experienced the same kind of introduction into the Great Hut. When there were many candidates, three or four men played the role of the spirit and took turns. Each man painted himself and, as Yetáita, struggled with the particular chap whom he was to sponsor in this Xčéxaus celebration, insofar as this was possible. In the case of girls this struggle is omitted. They are led to the Great Hut and shoved through the main entrance in the same manner as was described above. They are left crouching in their places with faces covered until a boy who has been subsequently led in is obliged to begin the struggle with Yetáita. At this moment the piece of leather is removed from the girl's face, and she can now watch, without recognizing the man. She is amply frightened and terrified.

Sometimes the spectral appearance is made more simply. A younger man paints himself behind the curtain near the secondary entrance, his companion doing the same. Here both remain hidden until all the uš̌wáala are led into the hut at once with their faces covered. The adults begin drumming against the ground, howling and screaming alarmingly. As the cover is removed from the faces of the candidates, the curtain is also drawn aside. The leader or some other man calls to them: "Yetáita is sitting there beside the second entrance; he is squatting on the ground, his companion beside him!" The candidates are led near him so that they become very frightened. Some of them must touch the wad of twigs which the companion has tied around his forehead. Afterwards

/856 cont./

X881 is regarded as the most important law and as a rule of life that is taken for granted. The candidates are given ample opportunity to practice this.

X881 1. Physical Bearing. In the external forms of constraint the
866 Yamana make no distinction between boys and girls; both are affected in the same way. It is well known that each uš̌wā́ala has his place beside his sponsor. In other words, the principal sponsor has the secondary sponsor on one side of him and his protégé on the other (cf. Fig. 83). One of the two sponsors, who alternate, constantly watches over the hḗtakuxḗolan.

X881 Immediately after his reception in the Great Hut each candi-
516 date must assume the customary position (p. 703), squatting on
866 his crossed legs which are bent at the knees at right angles. The upper part of the body leans slightly forward, the head is still more bent, and the eyes look at the ground directly in front of the knees. The arms are crossed over the chest (278). In this

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278. The posture required by the Selk'nam of their candidates in the Great Hut (Vol. I, 1016) is different from the one described here, but they, as well as the Yamana, demand this external constraint with exaggerated strictness.

position everyone shows strained effort. Even if all the other marks of distinction were lacking, a new visitor could immediately differentiate the uš̌wā́ala from the rest of the participants by this compulsory position.

This position, which is uncomfortable enough in itself, is made extraordinarily difficult because one must sit still. The candidate must do so for three hours or more, before he is permitted to move for some specific reason. He may not lean against anything, slump, bend sideways, slide around, unfold his arms, stretch, or lift his eyes and look around inquisitively; he may neither rub nor scratch any part of his body.

X881 The adults intentionally provide each uš̌wā́ala with repeated
966 opportunities to test himself. For instance, they secretly put a small weevil on his naked back, and while the insect is crawling around they observe him closely. Woe to him if he so much as

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way of rules for living and that for them even today is the backbone of a model way of life.

1. The Teacher. The efforts made by the adults on behalf of their young people aim toward making them morally good human beings who are not only capable in all manual skills and faithful in the performance of their daily work, but who act properly from inner conviction and the dictates of conscience. Our Fuegians also have their own, definite, clearly defined ideal of education. This is kept constantly in mind by the teachers of youth in the parental hut as well as those in the čiéxaus hut. The basic ideas seem so natural and beneficial that one would think they had been taken from our European world of ideas. The educational goal is summed up in one phrase: "Everyone must become a good and useful Yamana (283)!" The adults steer straight toward this

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283. We should like to emphasize that this expression has been literally translated. It coincides exactly with the Selk'nam conception of the educational ideal, and they express it in the same words (Vol. I, 1020). The complete unanimity of the two tribes in this significant matter is not surprising if we realize that the social order is one and the same both here and there, in spite of the stronger effect of the matriarchal influence in certain respects among the Selk'nam.

goal with relentless severity, apply all kinds of methods, and struggle for it tenaciously.

In the čiéxaus hut the general rules of life that are valid for the Yamana and dominate their public as well as personal life are presented to the candidates. Many of these rules have become familiar to the uíwaala early in the parental hut, but now they are placed before them as a compact, coherent body of individual /865/ regulations. In their entirety they serve the one great purpose of making a good and useful member of society out of every young person. Our Fuegians agree that society can maintain itself only if every individual adapts himself to the

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as his sponsor (p. 701). This candidate and the other uwĕ́la now hear in so many words: "The one who appeared here in the shape and outward guise of Yetā́ta is not really this evil spirit. Yetā́ta is far worse and more dangerous. Beware of him: he takes everyone who is insubordinate and disobedient!"

In the course of the admonitions given to each candidate, the teacher at first repeatedly threatens them with this apparition. The favored wording is: "Be obedient, comply carefully with everything we charge you to do here in the Great Hut, otherwise Yetā́ta will cause your untimely death!" A no less frequent warning is: "Beware of Yetā́ta who is always watchful. If he sees that you are lazy and indolent, he will make you completely exhausted and you will die!" Punishment by this evil spirit is also predicted in case a candidate talks about the things that go on in the ć́xaus hut and betrays them to minors.

In collusion with a sponsor, a man will inconspicuously knock on the ground. Immediately the sponsor will ask his protégé: "Did you hear Yetā́ta down there in the earth?" Full of terror, the candidate says he did. Sometimes his face is meanwhile covered with a scrap of leather and then the knocking becomes even more mysterious. He is made to believe that Yetā́ta is bumping his head from below against the layer of earth directly under the place where the candidate is sitting or under the Great Hut in general, and that is his knocking.

The people outside the Great Hut, like the candidates, are also kept in check by the threat: "Yetā́ta will devour anyone who approaches our Great Hut or who acts disrespectfully!" They are likewise taught that whatever anyone carries into the hut in the way of food is immediately devoured by Yetā́ta. Outsiders therefore believe that this evil spirit exercises unlimited power in the Great Hut and is very much to be feared (319).

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319. In view of this, "Yetaŋta" is very much like an omnipotent female spirit known as "Xalpen," who in the Klokseten ceremony of the Selk'nam men rules everything and every individual with ruthless great power (Vol. I, 916). Among the Yamana, however, these threats are directed only toward children, for

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It is necessary to create fear, for a person who is made to be afraid will carefully observe the prevailing rules. That is why we often refer to Yetájta!"

After Chris expressed his view, I set forth my misgivings: "Why do the old people emphasize a fear of Yetájta, when in reality it is Watayinéiwa who really punishes?" He replied: "In olden times much more than now the fear of Watayinéiwa was inculcated, for he is always the mightiest one, that is, much stronger than Yetájta. The latter appears in the kína. The participants of the kína celebration maintain that he lives in the earth and devours human beings (324). That is why [in modern

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324. In the men's secret ceremony the Selk'nam maintain the same thing about Xalpen, the female, omnipotent spirit (see footnote 319).

times] we implant fear of Yetájta in the candidates of the čiéxaus. In olden times here in the čiéxaus, fear of Watayinéiwa was impressed on the uswála, for he /898/ is the mightiest. Yetájta is also called tánuwa (325); that is the name for Watayinéiwa.

325. The meaning is "my dear old man"; according to BD:421, also "(My) father, my old man" /cited in English/ (in the familiar sense). BD adds by way of supplement: "A being personified in the ceena [kina] drama, was supposed to come up out of the earth, he was an old man and did not come forth and leap about but lay still in the ceena and beat the earth and brayed" /cited in English/.

They are one and the same, only now we say they are different persons" (326). I inquired further: "How can you reconcile that,

326. Unfortunately I could not find out whether Chris was expressing a general opinion. If so, we can see in his words the confusion that a later body of ideas brought into the previously

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Meanwhile the women rested. After about 20 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: hôhohohohô. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another; first one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority; then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff at shoulder-height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pressing and pushing lasted about 20 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the center of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this sham battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the ǯʰkaus hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

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364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Honan" scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam. Here, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and these are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 997).

actually /952/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (365).

365. Schmidt (d):963 regards this struggle

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the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and had turned back. After that Hálpul remained in Ushwáia.

Three Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /938/ build a very large hut and equ'p ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the Kínaxo began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana.-- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the Kínaxo celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

[171] We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

374. These two affairs are known to be

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E. Property Relations

42| The orderly and peaceable coexistence of the Tamana is largely made possible by the fact that their property relationships are regulated according to ancient laws. No one questions how these arose or upon what they are based, since for each generation up to the present time traditional custom was the immutable guiding principle. Certain legal titles are based on fact; the prevailing laws of custom are primarily decisive. Actually our Tamana have an adequate number of legal concepts, which they followed in olden times as well as now (376). The economy and the social

376. With a view toward facilitating comparison as much as possible, this section was organized to some extent according to the pattern in Volume I, 433. Compare Krickeberg (a):331.

organization have played a part in the formation of certain relationships involving property. These relationships /362/ are particularly apparent in the social intercourse of persons or groups and in the relations between members of the most intimate family circle (377).

•[71] 377. Since the economy and the social organization of our Tamana agree to a great extent with the Seliknam forms, it is not surprising that the property relations of both are almost completely alike.

A careful observer can easily determine the prevailing legal conceptions of the Tamana insofar as they pertain to property, for they are simple and definite in themselves and are also translated into action. This is not to deny individual violations against the law, but the characteristics of the law may be recognized in these very transgressions. One need not be put off by the contradictory judgments of travelers and missionaries. Some facts and observations have simply not been correctly interpreted.

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fishhooks, fine implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[ST] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

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It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):78, 237 definitely became acquainted with

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b. The Right of Possession

421 The Yamana recognize actual possessions as personal property, aside from a few common possessions. Institutions and principles pointing to pure communism are completely absent. They are familiar with several titles for the right of possession, which we must now discuss, after having described the actual forms of property. In this respect, too, our Yamana agree almost completely with the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 434). The recognized legal titles are as simple and clear as the forms of the possessions of this tribal society. [171]

1. Right of the Supreme Being as Creator

421 T76 Later on we shall speak of the religious convictions of the Yamana, which culminate in the recognition of a Supreme Being. Common names applied to this being are Watauinéiwa, "the /973/ ancient one," and Hidábuan, "my father." He is lord over all visible things and their supreme owner. The compound term Watauinéiwa-sír, which is often used, evidently means: the sír, or thing in the sense of property, of Watauinéiwa (386). Practically

386. BD:379 interprets this word with: "tools, implements, vessels, toys, goods, property, things in general" /cited in English/.

everything visible and tangible, without reservation, is regarded by our Fuegians as Watauinéiwa-sír; therefore the Supreme Being is the owner of visible creation.

421 T76 825 Among all that has been created, the necessary daily food is the most important for our Indians. Heading the list are the game animals hunted by the man and the many lower animals which the woman gathers. Although the individual exerts himself personally for these, it is nevertheless as though he first had to ask permission from Watauinéiwa for each piece, hence his repeated request in actual prayers to the Supreme Being for the things he needs for his subsistence. In this procedure there is a faint hint that Watauinéiwa will benevolently give each human being some of that which he

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521 instance, one told to the others in an evening, how he had seen, during the daytime a fanirook, a black bird, passing down a sloping hill, step by step; the bird looked round about, then at once it commenced to shake its feathers and flew off, about which they burst out into a loud laugh. Another began to tell what he had seen strange, when he was out on horseback, and the third what he had seen when he drove the cattle home" /cited in English/.

521 203 Meanwhile everyone rests comfortably, and anyone who feels like eating is immediately served by the mistress of the hut. None of those present knows when there will be another opportunity for a comfortable time together. On its trips each family usually spends only one or two nights in the same place. If entertaining fellow-tribesmen offer them company on an evening, they take advantage of it until long after midnight, and yet early the following morning they are ready to travel on. The ample, unconstrained exchange offers the incalculable advantage of keeping the individual members of the tribe from far and near in close touch and of laying bare everyone's actions. In this way all their /1023/, traditions are kept alive and transmitted, and any deviation from ancient custom can be prevented if it should become noticeable in any way.

522 [71] Finally we must mention a custom that is practiced by the Yamana exactly as it is among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 471), a diverting, half-serious, half-humorous talk contest between two people from different regions who have met in a hut. One of them will intentionally challenge his opponent with jokes and banter by praising the virtues of his own home and the capability of his own local group. Soon the other interrupts him with laudatory remarks about his region, his relatives and friends, the habits and qualifications of his group. The verbal exchange goes back and forth and is attentively listened to by all present. Finally when the two opponents have exhausted their repartee and their wittiness, they resort to mild insults and definite accusations. Now one tries to outdo the other in this without letting it become obvious that he feels hurt. At the dangerous moment, however, the bystanders, who unerringly recognize it, break off the talk contest between the two with very loud applause, thus preventing an unfortunate outcome of the initially

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781 776 626 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really because of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its demands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 776 195 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 [171] The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

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577 626 private duties or drifts into deviations in the field of sexual morality, but he knows it and is made to feel that by doing so he loses the respectful opinion of his neighbors and is avoided by them, as though in punishment. After a time his sense of honor or a threat from the Supreme Being forces him back on the path of duty. There is every indication that these demands of justice, /1091/ and hence the entire situation pertaining to justice, have been preserved unchanged among the Fuegians throughout generations up to the present time (30).

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30. In this respect our Yamana are almost exactly like the Selk'nam. The moral law of the latter has been characterized and explained with an abundance of detail in Volume I, 519. A person who would take the trouble to compare the two would find surprisingly many likenesses and similarities.

577 776 626 An adequate explanation for the gravity of the demands of justice and the power of universal duty is offered by the references to the ultimate originator of all this, namely, the Supreme Being himself. Our natives derive the existing custom regarding obligatory rules and laws from Watauineiwa in definite terms. It is he who demands that the individual Yamana "adapt himself [in his conduct through life] as has always been customary," that is to say, according to the principles that he himself issued from the very beginning. The mental make-up of our Fuegians is not the kind that would split hairs over individual conceptions and arrange the result in a complex chain of ideas. A general reference to traditional forms of conduct of their ancestors satisfies their intellect. What has been shown to agree with them is legally valid, and only for this reason. Thus the entire body of moral law rests on the firmest foundation and the compulsion toward duty is given the strongest impetus. This is not changed even by the following minor factor. Now and then I was told, but without noticeable emphasis: "Yoálox let us know how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" People like to say this to the uswāala in the čiéxaus when they acquaint them with the myths that surround this figure.

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spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Wataúineíwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

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Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kĕspiš. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kĕspiš of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kĕspiš like that of the human soul to animals.

● [171] 114

Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kăspi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

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Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

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775 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

765 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shrieks, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

• [171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

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765 202 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

765 768 After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated, the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and [171] the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 53;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukokku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

765 551 The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

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of the head, 'no good, no good talk; my country never asserts: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (a):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Lovisato (b):149, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 565), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1935), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

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773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

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74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

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773 824 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yę́kamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́i, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́i (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

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77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yę́kamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yę́kamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

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773 821 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradually she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

•[171]

82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akáinix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

ʃ. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1185 cont./

773 776 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there is any close relationship between the Yoálox family and Watayinéiwa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoálox took part in the great upheaval in the kīna at Yāiaasāga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoálox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoálox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kīna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoálox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoálox also are not associated with Lēm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoálox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yámana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoálox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very

773 776 171 briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number of points of agreement between the Yoálox brothers and the Kwányip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

/1185 cont./

773 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
776 the younger Yoálox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1016.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

776 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watauinéiwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yefáčel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1287 cont./

773 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people
776 now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water; the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Lakúma still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the tú'ikípa, and shoved her overboard. Lakúma seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Lakúma reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mussels of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (253). The men reached for them and /1288/ took a

253. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balanus and Coropula types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whole Lakúma with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Lakúma was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had tasted the berries as a tú'ikípa.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, wátuwa, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (a):211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Lakúma should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

3. The Forest Giants

• 171
773 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Čáskels
776 exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 593), it is not strange that

/1288 cont./

171 173 176 our Yamana tell about many giant-like spirits which make the Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythological material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yóši is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hánnuš. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself; he regularly roams alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hánnuš gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Yamana. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Yamana wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hánuš approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a storm-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Thus warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hánnuš cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep; /1289/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he murders. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and softly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hánnuš is considered a lecherous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leave them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1307 cont./

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a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII,6;1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lasapowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1312 cont./

X575 562 about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kína, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kína, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kína fundamentally different from the čiẽxaus. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

●[171]

266. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

/1312 cont./

X 575 171 The Selk'nam in their Klóketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the čiéxaus and the kína are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kína embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, X 575 123 /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kína from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kína, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Klóketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (m):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114 The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kína is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

X 575
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/1503 cont./

Not only must the Kina hut be erected on a favorable spot and on a slight rise in the ground, but the dwellings of the individual families must also be moved together in a certain arrangement and be set up in such a way that they are not within range of the wide entrance to the Kina hut. The dwellings are at least 15 meters away so that the conversation and activities of the men cannot be overheard or observed by the women and children. The elevation of the Kina hut permits the men to watch and follow every movement in the camp proper without undue effort and unobtrusively. Above all no intruder may approach their secret gathering-place (272). The closer the

[171]

272. Basically, the local conditions here are the same as those required for the camp arrangement at the Kinkenen celebration of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 831). The gathering-place of the men is like the stage of a theater, with the dwellings in front and at a certain distance, as though they were the auditorium for the women and children.

dwellings are to one another, the easier it is to survey them from the Kina hut. For that reason persons who are closely related are definitely urged to move into the so-called multiple-family huts (p. 31). Two to four families thus live in the same room. This is not disturbing or uncomfortable for them because the men are almost always in the Kina hut.

4. Building the Great Hut

X 575
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Scarcely have the families settled in the place assigned to them when the building of the Great Hut commences, following the request and direction of the leader. Middle-aged men willingly offer their services. First of all the chosen site on a slight rise is cleared of stones, low bushes, and many a /1504/ tree stump. If necessary it is also leveled off somewhat. The women and children may watch this work from their dwellings; from now on they may come no closer.

/1324 cont./

Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam regularly faces east (Vol. I, 838).

In the interior of this Klóx hut the actual resting places are now arranged in the following manner, unlike the Táyas hut. Clumps of turf are put around the central open space for the fire, and they are stamped down with the feet as evenly as possible. A layer of the long, broad-leafed grass /1325/ Téka (Poa flabellata), which is used in the ordinary dwellings (cf. p. 85), is often scattered on top, but it is permissible to use this grass only if the short, sharp-pointed pampas grass, tóŋ-ahóka, cannot be obtained. The latter grows in bunches in open places, is very dry and hard, and scarcely 35 centimeters tall (274). A bunch of this grass can

274. Species of Calamagrostis are referred to here, which also flourish on the rocky coasts between women. Cf. Spegazzini (d):84.

be pulled out only if one grasps it firmly and twists the roots. While the men are gathering many trunks and poles for the hut framework, the Klóx leader directs the women and children to provide the necessary amount of grass, he tells them very definitely that they must bring in a great deal of tóŋ-ahóka (275).

275. It is very remarkable that similarly in the Kloketen hut of the Selk'nam only this short, hard pampas grass is used for the men's resting place (Vol. I, 838).

On top of this layer of grass each man spreads his piece of leather on the place where he will sit throughout the entire festival.

It is noteworthy that this conical Great Hut for the Klóx festival is specially decorated on the inside. All around the interior a red band as wide as three fingers is painted at the level of a man's head. Above that a white band of equal width is applied, and above that, a black one. All three are separated from each other by two spaces each as wide as a finger. These three bands, which serve as decorative painting, are symbolically interpreted as suggesting a rocky enclosure. The red color recalls the irregular stones on the beach, which are more or less thickly

/1332 cont./

X515 302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent T'enowa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

[11]

279. The Selk'nam also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Kloketen spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X515 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1333/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Mallemchaus, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalempáis mask would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1335 cont./

X575 who now sees the two "spirits" in front of him. Again he is terror-stricken. The leader calls to him: "Grab him by the head!" Resolutely the lad stretches out his hand and pulls the mask off the "spirit." Now he recognizes the man and winces in astonishment. He must immediately unmask the other "spirit" in the same way. This whole procedure has the effect of a revelation; he stands in front of the men who have been unmasked as though he had turned to stone. While this is going on, the tight circle of participants all around him yell and stamp with all their might. Now the uš̌wā́ala knows the nature of the spirits; further explanation is unnecessary.

The uš̌wā́ala must now sit down. As he does so, he can see that the two "spirits" take their places in the circle of men. Again his face is covered. Now all the men dance around the fire in wild haste and howl quite dreadfully (280). Suddenly they

• [171]

280. It is noteworthy that in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam the candidate who has just been introduced unveils the secret of the so-called spirits in the same way, namely, by pulling off the mask himself (Vol. I, 853).

stop, jump once where they stand, utter a long-drawn out hō̆, /1336/ and the whole circle breaks up. Everyone sits down in his place; the two spirits sit in front of the uš̌wā́ala, and the guide next to him. Once again the uš̌wā́ala faces the wall and turns his back to the entrance. If two or three young men are introduced for the first time on the same occasion, the procedure described above is followed, except that one spirit dances in front of each uš̌wā́ala and the masks are pulled off by the uš̌wā́ala at the same moment, following a signal from the leader.

This unmasking is followed by a brief pause during which the frightened candidates calm down somewhat. The next few minutes are devoted entirely to their instruction. This is regularly given by the leader and actually consists only of an urgent admonition that the youths faithfully and conscientiously guard the Kina secret. The leader either has the candidates assemble in front of him,

/1345 cont./
transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (297).

297. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 859), Yamana, and Halakwulup. All three are juxtaposed in Gusinde (q):261. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d):995.

Another familiar idea should be repeated here: Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Yamana refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p.855). The text of the two versions given above differs in details and in minor incidents. Naturally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

To this day the Yamana men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women as a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely fitting retaliation for all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the content of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they base their vindication upon it. While the esteem that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

/1367 cont./

to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yékamuš paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yékamuš, the men crowd together and the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating šikušúli in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yékamuš the two groups disperse and separate (307).

307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives činũgũ, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamạ̈alakẹmana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

/1373 cont./

X 515 535 The Hístuku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their [302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been [776 825] murdered by the women. Hístuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tëpë̃ya (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yáiaaĭága he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

●[771] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoštan scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). BD:262 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X 515 776 825 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:170, kiūā̃gwĭaka, the performance of the sea

/1380 cont./
X 575 the leadership of the entire Kina, but also, nearly always, the
156 duty of calling each of the spirits out of the Great Hut with the customary arm movement. /1381/ In all the deliberations and decisions of the men the yékamuš have the decisive voice (314).

• [171]

314. It is exactly the same in the Kolketen. -- A detailed comparison of the men's festivals among the Selk'nam and the Yamana may be omitted here, since this has already been done by Gusinde (q):291, with the secret ceremony of the Halakwulup also included. At first glance it is striking that among the Selk'nam the actual youth initiation and the characteristic celebration of the men are united in a single affair (Vol. I, 1083).

They are regarded as closely associated with the spirits. It is only one of them, one who feels an urge to do so, who is permitted to perform the customary dance with one of the spirits outside the Great Hut. Again and again this or that yékamuš will approach a dancer or performer and give him renewed strength and firmness of limbs by means of his peculiar kind of magic massage. Among the Yamana there is no other sizeable group affair whose program, so to speak, is so entirely in the hands of the yékamuš as it is in the Kina.

X 575 With all the curious peculiarities of the Kina, it must not be overlooked that candidates are almost always introduced and are subject to strict treatment. The chief purpose is to familiarize them with the origin myth; actual training is only secondary. Only those chaps who have shown serious defects of character or whose behavior leads one to fear bad consequences are subject to strict discipline and personal influence. Out of consideration for the general welfare, the older members of the tribe may not miss any opportunity to protect the individual and the group as a whole from harm and injury. The Kina festival is not required to fulfill the task of educating all the uš̌wáala.

Finally, if one regards the Kina in connection with the entire social order, it clearly seems to be a foreign body. Even if one is not inclined to attribute historical value to the origin myth, nevertheless the suggestion that the Kina is supposed to

X 575 /1382 cont./

When the Kina is over, all their social life with its balanced harmony in the distribution of energy goes on as quietly and matter-of-factly as though no one knew anything about this performance, and no one feels that it is necessary to hold it again after a certain time.

There are several factors, therefore, that characterize the Kina as a foreign body in the total culture of the Yamana. It is true that they have made allowances for it now and then in their tribal life, but in such a way that the latter is not affected. The activity of the men in their secret gathering is not seriously meant as obvious hostility against the women, and besides it is at variance with the men's innermost nature. For this reason they justify their action by referring to the origin myth, although they do not remotely believe it possible that the women could rise up against the existing relations of the sexes. There are many indications [177] that the Yamana have derived their men's celebration from the Selk'nam. W. Schmidt (d):954 has pointed out an important feature of the Kina in a general evaluation of such performances when he says: "Probably nowhere else in the world is the character of this men's celebration as a reaction of the men against the matriarchal superiority of the women so clearly expressed in an absolutely classic way in the myth itself." Space is lacking for further comparisons.

/1383/ F. The Medicine-Man System

X 756 ● 171 From the reports of missionaries and travelers it has long been known that the Yamana are not without persons who function basically in the same manner and for the same ends as the well-known medicine men among the North American Indians. In the Cape Horn region they are called yẽkamuš. Their field of activity is extensive; the individual and the people in general must reckon with the yẽkamuš and are dependent upon them. If one compares the medicine-man system of our Yamana with that of the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 717), he finds many points of agreement. The details need not be compared here. It will simply be pointed out that, by and large, the xon of the

/1383 cont./

X756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yékamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yékamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Pešére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X756 [123] It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yékamuš conceptions. I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being permitted to attend the so-called lóima-yékamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yékamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yékamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yékamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yékamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to

X 756

/1383 cont./ definite principles was undertaken in Gusinde (kk):286. In the many references to the yekamus, the names constantly vary. Compare the source material assembled in Cooper: 159, as well as Bridges (i):18 and Outes (g):54.

account /1384/ justifies the translation of the word yẽkamuš which has been chosen here. Although for a number of decades the entire culture of the Yamana has yielded to steady, progressive deterioration, the medicine-man system continued to the time when I made my observations without surrendering its essential parts. I was still able to comprehend its characteristics fully. Even middle-aged men who, through much contact with Europeans, sometimes showed perfectly clear signs of something like "emancipation" from traditional views and customs remained firmly and unshakably firm about their conceptions of their yẽkamuš system.

a. Personality of the Medicine Man

The Yamana ascribe an extraordinary power to their yẽkamuš, a power which, under certain circumstances, is really used to the harm and detriment of a tribal member. Although the yẽkamuš work perhaps even more frequently to the advantage of their immediate neighborhood and render great services to many a person, nevertheless the attitude of the individual Fuegian toward the yẽkamuš is such as is dictated by respect and awe, mistrust and fear (316). More specifically, the people know little about the

•[171]

316. The same situation exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 718). This is mentioned only in passing, since detailed comparisons would be too long.

medicine men's method of operation or about their connection with the many spirits with whom they co-operate, to say nothing of the manner of their influence on natural forces which they purport to control. This supposition explains the feeling of

/1390 cont./

X-756 826 but in reality it is not the same in the case of a yékamuš." No one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Yamana /1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It [171] seems to me that a reference to the view of the Selk'nam about their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 740). Many details that they attribute to their xon exactly fit the yékamuš of our Yamana, for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more supplementary remarks about this strange conception of the Yamana concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up, of their yékamuš.

3. His Psychic Nature

X-756 In view of the preceding description it is not surprising that the Yamana are able to say little about the mental side and the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about the operations of the yékamuš. The latter is primarily dependent upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images, which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words. Thus one can only describe the manner in which the yékamuš operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Selk'nam have a lucid body of ideas about their xon and their basic thoughts about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the personality of the yékamuš are far inferior. This difference in scope as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of the medicine-man system between the two Fuegian tribes is of decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the sphere of action of the yékamuš will at least permit a clear judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only a refined type of deception and minutely calculated swindle.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

595 of spirits (pl. 33, *a*). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

773 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the *Yahgan* have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1278–1294). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the cormorant, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina rite with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the čiéxaus. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, [796] the Lakúma water spirits, and the Hánnush giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

171 In general, *Yahgan* technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and coiled basketry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple *Yahgan* harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect *Yahgan* culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern *Athabaskan* and northern *Algonquians* of sub-Arctic America.

202 [804] 811 There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Nothofagus betuloides* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 16 feet (5 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a balloonlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

805 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

105 177 the method of fire-making, the borrowing group made the introduced feature completely their own. But often the borrowed trait never became characteristic, and its use was only local and occasional. If these acquired features are subtracted the cultural poverty of each tribe is greatly intensified.

SUMMARY OF FUEGIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

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Ona	Yahgan
Clothing	
robe	cape
slip	——
pubic covering	pubic covering
moccasins	moccasins (rare)
leggings (rare)	leggings (rare)
hunter's cap	——
shaman's cap (rare)	shaman's cap (rare)
——	mittens (rare)
Ornamentation	
anklets	anklets (rare)
wristlets (rare)	wristlets (rare)
necklace	necklace
paint	paint
tattooing	——
Houses	
skin windbreak	skin-covered dome of saplings
log tipi (rare)	log tipi (rare)
Transportation	
pack harness	canoe
walking-stick	paddle
——	bailer
——	mooring rope
Camp Equipment	
flint and pyrites	flint and pyrites
fire-tongs	fire-tongs
grease stone	grease stone
skin water-bag	bark bucket
——	shell cup
skin storage-bags	skin storage-bags
gut storage-bags (rare)	gut storage-bags
——	kelp storage-bag

basket (one kind)	baskets (three kinds)
frame cradle	——
dog leash	——
——	feather broom (recent?)
comb	comb
——	face-painting stick

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Tools

knife	knife
flesh-scraper	flesh-scraper (rare)
wood-scraper	wood-scraper
sharpening stone	sharpening stone
awl	awl
chipping tool	?
stone shaft-polisher	?
skin polisher	pumice
——	barking tools (two kinds)

Weapons and Hunting Equipment

bow and arrow	bow and arrow (rare)
spear (rudimentary)	spears (five kinds)
sling (rare)	sling
——	club
bird-snare	bird-snare
net (rare, two kinds)	net (rare)
——	grass dip-net
——	fish-line
bark torch	bark torch

Games

ball	ball
circular grass target (rare)	——

Religious and Ceremonial Paraphernalia

masks	masks
feather headband	feather headband
kelp-goose down headband	kelp-goose down headband
——	painted sticks
——	painted thong
——	guanaco-hide headband
——	tickling stick
——	ceremonial spear

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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	Materials
wood	wood
sinew	sinew
skin	skin
stone	stone
bone	bone
whalebone (rare)	whalebone
——	kelp
grass	grass
feathers	feathers
——	pumice
white clay	white clay
red burnt earth	red burnt earth
charcoal	charcoal
pitch (post-European)	——
iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

114 The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

114 Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups,
101 Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehâus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

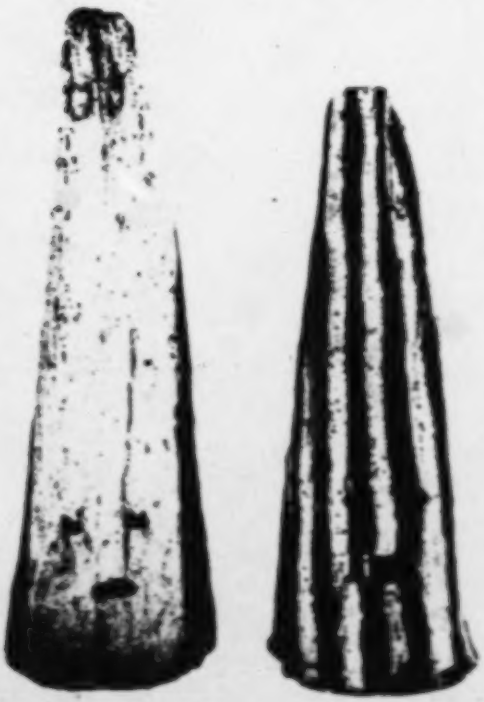

Fig. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehâus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klóketen*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

FUEGIAN CULTURE STATUS

We have considered the Foot and Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego as they have revealed themselves to modern investigation and as they have been reflected in archeological remains. Before closing this account it will be well to fix their position in relation to cultural development and adaptation to environment in other parts of the world. We shall therefore examine the attainments of the Paleolithic and Neolithic inhabitants of Europe, of the Seri Indians of Mexico, and of the Eskimo—all in the light of Fuegian culture.

A.—Fuegians Compared with Primitive Europeans

Assayed by the standards of Old World archeology, the Fuegian tribes stand definitely in the early Neolithic stage of culture, for they understood the use of the bow, made coiled basketry, used canoes (which may or may not have existed in Paleolithic Europe), and they had domesticated dogs. As for stoneworking, however, aside from some of their arrow- and spear-points (which are not only well made but barbed), Fuegian implements are fully equaled by finds dating from the Acheulean and Mousterian floors in Europe; that is to say, the latter half of the lower Paleolithic period.[1] In fact, in the stone drill, invented during the Mousterian age and perfected in the Aurignacian, Europeans possessed a tool unknown to the Fuegians, who could puncture nothing harder than hide or bark with their bone awls. By the time of the Aurignacian period Europe also had developed the bone needle with a pierced eye to which the Fuegians did not attain.

Magdalenian Europe offers strong likeness to the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, owing to the very similar types of barbed bone harpoons used in both regions. Yet by this time in Europe the chipping of stone had risen to the level of an art, the spear-thrower was widely used (an implement which one suspects that the Fuegian tribes may have forgotten), clothes were carefully

[1] It is unfortunate that the names attached to the great primary periods of human life should denote technological methods of manufacturing stone implements, for current practice distinguishes these epochs and their subdivisions by the fauna and by the kinds of materials in use rather than by the manner in which they were made. This change in classification became necessary when it was recognized that the Paleolithic technique persisted into the Neolithic and even the Metal ages. We must emphasize that these terms are without chronological significance in the New World.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

tailored (as attested by the finding of bone buttons), elaborate three-strand necklaces were manufactured, and, above all, sculpture was common and painting had reached both relatively and absolutely a very developed plane. The depiction of masked human figures suggests parallel religious phantasmagoria in both regions. In contrast the Fuegians were totally devoid of sculpture, and their painting was limited to the crudest daubs. Their necklaces were most primitive. Their garments were merely wrapped around the body and held in place by hand, or, if they did not completely envelop the body, were tied on by thongs crossing the bare flesh.

As to polished stone implements, Tierra del Fuego has produced few. In fig. 41 we show a bola from the east coast. Outes (1905, p. 427) has fully demonstrated that the true home of this weapon is in the northeastern Pampas and that it was unknown in Patagonia until the eighteenth century. Clearly it is no ancestral arm carried to Tierra del Fuego by Foot Indians in remote centuries, but rather a recent introduction, not long antedating the white colonization. Also we have seen a stone spike excavated in Yahgan territory. Apparently it has been shaped in part by pecking; at best it is an isolated instance of the Neolithic technique.

The rarity of polished stone implements in Fuegia is to be explained not by the lack of aptitude but by the indolence of the natives. To so-called civilized man the chipping of stone seems a mysterious craft, while it is patent that anyone who takes the time can grind a stone to the desired shape. As a matter of fact, the chipping of serviceable tools can be learned with a few days' practice, though of course the more delicate flaking, as with all handicraft, can come only as the result of long experience. And furthermore, chipped implements can be turned out quickly,—it takes only ten or fifteen minutes for a skilful Ona to finish a most delicate arrow-point,—while ground stone implements require patience, mental discipline, and foresight.

This point is one to recall in estimates of all or any phases of Fuegian culture, for it will be found that deficiencies arose not from any innate mental or physical handicap, but from laziness and lethargy. This generalization applies not so much to the necessaries as to the conveniences of life. Thus the Ona bow and the Yahgan spear are admirable weapons, but the houses of both tribes were woefully inadequate. Yet there is no reason why the Yahgan and Ona should not, with forethought and initiative,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri NU31

have made themselves as comfortable as other tribes occupying an equivalent environment. That they did not, to the writer, indicates a lack of something vital in their mental makeup.

The brief comparison we have made between primitive European and Fuegian cultures shows that although the Fuegians had partly attained the technological plane called Neolithic in the Old World, nevertheless in most respects they were scarcely better off than the semi-simian Neanderthal man of Europe. Clearly then they were laggards or backsliders in the development of mankind, so that in depicting their manner of life we are justified in assuming that we are recreating a vista of life in Europe or elsewhere many thousands of years ago.

However, the tribes of Tierra del Fuego are not a unique phenomenon, as we shall show by comparison with an equally though differently untutored New World group.

B.—Fuegians Compared with the Seri

The Seri, who inhabit a barren territory on the eastern shore of the Gulf of California and the adjacent islands, of which the largest is Tiburon, are one of the most primitive Indian tribes on the North American continent. Their climate is hot and dry. Their food supply is abundant—both marine and terrestrial. Like Fuegia the region occupied by the Seri is isolated from the main stream of cultural development, so that the native society probably represents a form of life much more wide-spread long ago.

Like the Fuegians, the Seri had no agriculture and no domestic animals except the dog, which indeed seems to have been half-wild. Their most important food was the turtle, which they caught with a harpoon having a detachable head tied to a cord. This may be compared to the Yahgan seal-spear. Long ago they used a two-headed barbed spear with the barbs facing inward to catch fish. The Yahgan also employed a two-headed fish-spear, but did not set the barbs inward. For boats the Seri made reed balsas with high pointed ends, a seaworthy craft but one which can be used only in warm climates because in rough weather the crew are drenched with spray or wet by water coming through the floor. These balsas the Seri propelled with clam-shells or boards held in the hands. In addition to spearing fish off-shore the Seri also caught them with their hands in shallow pools at low tide like the Ona, and they obtained on the beach large quantities of shellfish—chiefly clams and oysters.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
Seri NB3(

On shore the Seri gathered various wild vegetal foods. They clubbed roosting pelicans at night. They caught also many deer and rabbits. We use the word caught advisedly, for usually the Seri, fleet of foot and hardy, ran these animals down and literally caught them in their hands. Meat was eaten raw except when there was an oversupply. Then it was partly cooked to tempt their jaded appetites. At times in hunting and regularly in war they employed a bow and arrows of simple type. The arrow had a wooden tip, rarely a chipped stone point.

For tools the Seri used a bone or a wooden awl, a wooden marline spike, a stone hammer and anvil, and a clam-shell. The latter served as a knife, but its shape was not modified, nor was it set in a handle. Manual dexterity was at a minimum among these people, and their implements and weapons were even more primitive than those of the Fuegians.

The fundamental Seri garment was a pelican-skin robe, which, like the Yahgan cape, was shifted from side to side with the wind in inclement weather. Also they wore at times a kilt and sleeved shirt of woven material, and thus they placed themselves on a higher cultural plane than the Fuegians, for they not only had acquired the art of weaving, but of tailoring their garments, neither of which were known to the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. In addition, the Seri wore a belt, often of snake-skin, and sometimes sandals of turtle-flippers. They adorned their persons with necklaces of seeds, of wooden beads, of shell, and of hair. They painted designs on the faces much more elaborate in character than those of the Ona and Yahgan.

Seri houses, scarcely better than the Ona windbreak, were arches of saplings partly shingled with sponges and turtle-shells. Inadequate even in a warm climate, yet they offered more protection comparatively than the Fuegian houses. As the Seri were constantly moving from place to place, these rude shelters were frequently abandoned to be reoccupied on some other occasion.

Of household furniture the chief article was a globular pottery water-jar, because water was scarce in Seriland and had to be transported long distances. A yucca ring-base was provided for the water-jar, and at times two jars were transported in nets slung on a shoulder yoke. In addition the Seri sometimes made a cooking-pot, an open dish, miniature vessels, and crude figurines; they also used a shell cup, and made simple coiled baskets. Their

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6
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huts they carried on wooden frames like the Ona. Fire they made with a drill.

From the above remarks it appears that other inhabitants of the New World lived on a technological plane different in detail but no higher than the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Indeed in many respects—notably the lack of a knife and a scraper—the Seri are the more primitive. Yet their mind was not so great, because the climate they enjoyed did not make such demands on their vitality.

When we examine social institutions we find the Seri on a markedly higher plane than the Fuegians. The tribe as a whole had marked national consciousness. It was divided into exogamic totemic clans based on maternal descent. Authority was lodged in the matrons, delegated to the older brother for such masculine occupations as war and hunting. Religious concepts and practices also were on a higher plane than in Tierra del Fuego.

On the whole then we may say that the Seri, like the Fuegians, were a marginal group representing an early cultural stream; that both peoples were markedly deficient in houses, tools, and accouterments; but that the Seri, being closer to the fringe of higher culture, had borrowed in rudimentary form such higher arts as pottery-making and weaving, and had become endowed with more advanced religious and social practices. In both cases it seems that, although migratory by nature, their peregrinations had been circumscribed within fixed limits with resultant cultural atrophy, so that centuries had passed with little modification in their form of life.

The status of very primitive groups like the Fuegians and the Seri has bearing on the unknown pioneers who settled the New World, for the simplest and crudest tribes of the present may reflect the condition of their primitive migratory ancestors. We shall examine then the evidence afforded by such backward groups to throw light on the time when the Americas were settled and on the nature of the culture that was first introduced.

Y 174

Boas,[1] Wissler,[2] Kroeber,[3] and others have brought forward evidence that man reached the New World in a state of cultural development corresponding to the beginning of the Neolithic period in Europe. This hypothesis rests on fairly well assured

[1] The History of the American Race; *Annals N. Y. Acad. of Science*, XXI, 1912.
[2] The American Indian, New York, 1917.
[3] Anthropology, New York, 1923.

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
3366 Yahgan 3366

ground. In the first place, no American tribe, past or present, living on the Paleolithic plane of culture has yet been detected. In other words, all American Indians, even the most primitive such as the Fuegians and the Seri, have Neolithic elements in their culture. Hence with justification we can assume that man did not reach America until the Neolithic epoch. Furthermore, the absence from the Western Hemisphere of all typical Old World domesticated plants and animals, except the dog, shows that all significant migration to America had ceased before these elements had been developed. Thus the settlement of the Americas is fixed by these limits: the close of the Paleolithic period, but before the Neolithic period had fully dawned.

When did the Neolithic period begin? According to the elaborate chronological yard-stick developed for European archeology, this would take us back more than 10,000 years. But Europe geographically is only a peninsula of Asia, and archeological evidence denotes that the Neolithic culture developed in Asia and spread to Europe long afterward. Primitive Neolithic arts and industries may have reached America as soon as, if not before, they penetrated Europe. At present we cannot say whether the migration to the New World was completed in a century or in a thousand years. We cannot hope further to correlate Old World and New World archeology until stratigraphical and chronological studies in Asia have yielded the secret of the development of Neolithic culture.

To the above remarks we may add that, according to current geological opinion, glaciation need not be considered a barrier to migration, because the ice sheets were not in existence at the period (as indicated by the cultural evidence) when the settling of America took place. Of the three North American ice sheets, the Cordilleran or western field, which alone could have proved a barrier to travel from Asia, was the first to disappear. The Labrador sheet, the last and most recent, is estimated to have released Niagara Falls from 20,000 to 31,000 years ago.[1]

Well documented New World archeological finds, obviously of great antiquity, have been unearthed in North, South, and Central America during the last two decades. The remains to which the greatest age is assigned, however, Basket-maker in the United States and "Archaic" in Mexico and Salvador, all indicate a much higher technological plane than that of the Fuegians or Seri.

[1] See A. P. Coleman, Ice Ages, Recent and Ancient, New York, 1926, p. 68.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

However it seems that the limits of our definite knowledge of the past are far from extending back to the time of the first immigrants. However, as pointed out by Kroeber,[1] the primitive American cultural traits can be deduced by listing the elements of primitive nature having a wide distribution through both continents. On this basis it is not unsound reasoning to assume that characteristics common to widely separated primitive tribes in radically different environments, such as the Seri and the Fuegians, are basic in American culture. These features are:

1. A windbreak or domed house of saplings covered with the most readily available materials.
2. Untanned skin robe sewed with sinew.
3. A small kilt-like garment.
4. Use of facial and body painting.
5. Simple necklaces.
6. Cradle with cross-slats.
7. Coiled baskets.
8. Fire-drill. (This the Patagonians had, and probably once the Fuegians.)
9. Boats or rafts with high pointed ends.
10. The self bow and stone-tipped arrows.
11. The harpoon with single, double, and detachable heads.
12. Shellfish, fish, game, and wild vegetables as food.
13. Domesticated dogs.

From this list we gain a definite picture of the material culture enjoyed by the first settlers in the New World. It is not a complete visualization, however, of their manner of life, because it does not include social and religious customs. Among these in all probability should be included shamanistic control of spirits and disease, puberty rites attended with the infliction of physical suffering, masked ceremonials, and social organization based on local groups of blood relations. All these added features were characteristic of all the tribes of Tierra del Fuego.

We have listed as probable features of primordial American culture certain traits not included by Kroeber. On the other hand he incorporates others not found in Tierra del Fuego, such as the spear-thrower, twined baskets, mats, mortars, rattles, whistles, and flutes. Their absence from Tierra del Fuego may indicate that they should not be considered as primitive American traits,

[1] *op. cit.*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

because they are objects which would have been valuable to the Fuegians, because they could have been made from materials easily obtainable, and because they were not superseded by other inventions. If the Fuegians had enjoyed these features, I can see no reason why they should have given up using them; yet some of the listed traits, the spear-thrower for instance, have such wide New World distribution that it is hard to place them on any but the earliest cultural plane.

Fuegians Compared with the Eskimo

We have seen that the natives of Tierra del Fuego lived on a cultural plane comparable with that of the early inhabitants of Europe, who were the advance guard of culture-bearers from central Asia toward the west, just as the Fuegians may have been toward the east. We have also seen that the low plane on which the Fuegians lived was not an isolated phenomenon in the New World, but was approached or duplicated elsewhere. We shall now compare the cultural status of the Fuegians and the Eskimo, because their respective habitats are environmentally parallel and their necessities were similar. In fact the Eskimo are called on to face the more rigorous conditions of the two, for they live in higher latitudes where the winters are darker and colder, while the lack of trees in many places forces them to exercise great ingenuity to find substitutes for wood.

The Eskimo inhabit the Arctic coast of North America and the adjacent islands, including Greenland. As in Fuegia, the vegetation of their habitat is not rich enough to support life, so that they have to subsist principally on animal food. During the winter the polar seas freeze over, and the Eskimo spear seals as they rise to their blowholes in the ice. When open water forms, they take to the sea in boats made of a wooden frame covered with hide, which in every way seem stronger and more seaworthy than the Yahgan canoes. In these they spear seal, walrus, and whale. In summer the Eskimo spear fish and birds, and make long trips inland to shoot deer with bow and arrow. With the return of winter, seal again becomes their only food supply.

For houses, in the summer the Eskimo use skin tents or stone walls roofed with skin which give better protection than the Yahgan wigwams and are infinitely superior to the Ona windbreak. In winter they make themselves snug in ingeniously constructed,

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multi-chambered, snow houses, usually provided with skin linings, windows, and ventilation holes. They take advantage of the propensity of heat to rise, locate their houses on sloping ground, and place their living-quarters in the uppermost part of the house. Under favorable circumstances the temperature can be maintained at above 70° or 80° Fahrenheit by means of an oil lamp.

As for clothing, the Eskimo are as well provided as the Fuegians were deficient. Their carefully tailored fur garments not only supply warmth and protection to every part of the person, but are so skilfully designed that adequate ventilation is supplied as well. Arctic explorers of recent years have been unable to design garments better suited to the climate and have adopted the Eskimo dress.

The chief weapons of the Eskimo are the harpoon and the bow. Their harpoons are made with detachable heads like the Yahgan seal-spear, but the points are designed to turn in the flesh of the wounded animal so that they form a toggle when it tries to escape. Harpoons of slightly different size and type are employed for small seals, for ordinary seals, for walrus, and for whale. To secure the larger animals a cord leading from the harpoon-head is attached to inflated seal-hides or hoop-drags, which enables them to tire out the wounded animal rapidly. The great superiority of the Eskimo equipment lies partly in their ability to drill bone and wood, so that they can lash or rivet joints more securely than the Fuegians. Also all the accessories, the ivory support for the hand lashed on the shaft, the loop with ivory clasp to hold the harpoon line, ivory plugs to stop the wounds of the slain animal, ivory swivels, ivory toggles, etc.—all these show a control of material never attained by the Fuegians. Furthermore, these details show mental superiority in that the Eskimo look beyond the bare necessities of the chase and provide themselves with comforts and conveniences.

The Eskimo bow is made of one or more pieces of spruce-wood riveted together, or of antler. It is sinew-backed—an adequate and powerful weapon in spite of a lack of proper material for bows. The arrowhead is usually ground stone riveted to a foreshaft lashed to a main shaft. In addition the Eskimo have a specialized type of bird-spear and fish-spear far superior to anything in Fuegia. Also they propel lances with throwing-sticks. Furthermore, they catch fish with hook-and-line, and with an ivory minnow for bait.

When we examine Eskimo tools it is found that their makers are neat and finished workmen, and that they provide for their primitive

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necessities most adequately. Their knives and scrapers are ordinarily of iron or, when metal is unavailable, of stone ground down to thin, uniform, and symmetrical blades, which are hafted to wooden or ivory handles with rivets or gut lashings. Other tools include ivory needles, thimble, sharp graving tool, arrowshaft straightener, and—most important of all—the pump-drill. This last implement makes possible the rapid drilling of bone, stone, and wood, which contrasts strongly with the inability of the Fuegians to pierce anything harder than bark or skin. Among other elements of Eskimo material culture we should mention the stone lamp, fork and spoon, drinking tube, snow-goggles, and the sled with harness, traces, and toggles for pulling it.

Esthetically the Eskimo are not on a low plane. Their garments are distinctly beautiful from the juxtaposition of contrasting furs and are further adorned with beadwork. Their carvings in relief are realistic and charming. Incised drawings on bone and ivory show vigor and imagination. Their games, including cat's-cradle, are much more complex than Fuegian pastimes.

Like the Fuegians, the Eskimo lack definite social organization larger than the family. Both groups are polygynous. The Fuegians trace blood lines farther and are more rigid in debarring marriage of relatives.

Religiously the Eskimo are on the same plane as the Fuegians, but their religious activities played a larger part in their lives. In general they believed in supernatural beings, most of whom were malevolent, and they attempted to appease these creatures by prayer and offerings.

We have given but the briefest outline of Eskimo culture, for it is too complex to be summarized in a few words; yet enough has been said to indicate that the Eskimo live entirely as a hunting people, but in almost every aspect of life they are better off than were the natives of Tierra del Fuego. And this in spite of the more rigorous climate the Eskimo have to face. However, the comparison is not entirely fair, because the Fuegians were completely isolated, while the Eskimo received cultural impulses from more civilized neighbors such as the tribes of the northwestern coast of Canada or of northeastern Asia. The belief is not unjustified that climate and environment are the limiting factors with the Eskimo, and that, given better opportunities, they would work out a superior mode of existence.